



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

## SOURCE-MATERIAL FOR JONSON'S *UNDERWOODS* AND MISCELLANEOUS POEMS

Up to the present time it cannot be said that we know a great deal about the sources of the *Underwoods*. Gifford and Whalley marked a few classical passages that Jonson utilized; Amos, in *Martial and the Moderns*, pointed out a good many borrowings from that poet, while occasionally in *Notes and Queries* and elsewhere a stray bit of indebtedness is indicated. An immense amount, however, remains to be done before we shall be able to understand just what Jonson's poetry amounts to, just what he himself contributed, just what he took from others. In the following pages something is done, I hope, toward elucidating this point,<sup>1</sup> but no discussion is attempted of the bearing the facts brought forward have upon our estimate of Jonson's verse. I am not at present inclined to think that this estimate will be much lowered, though it doubtless will be somewhat changed.

The pieces in *Underwoods* are referred to in accordance with Cunningham's nine-volume reissue of Gifford, but the text is taken directly from the Folio. I have made no intentional changes in the passages quoted, but have given the original with all its misprints and mispunctuations. The Latin texts quoted have been those nearest at hand.

### I. UNDERWOODS

*Underwoods*, "Charis," No. 2: The central situation is supplied by Hieronymus Angerianus, *Carm. Illustrium Poet. Ital.*, 1719, I, 292:

De Caelia, & Cupidine.  
Vidit Amor dominam, stupuit; cecidere sagittae.  
Armavit sese Caelia, fugit Amor.

*Underwoods*, "Charis," No. 6: Tibullus iv. 2. 7 ff. may have supplied the theme, though Jonson has developed it after his own fashion.

<sup>1</sup> Something of a similar nature is attempted for the *Epigrams* and *Forest* in an article published in *Classical Philology*, XI, pp. 169 ff.

Illam, quidquid agit, quoquo vestigia movit,  
componit furtim subsequiturque Decor.  
seu solvit crines, etc.

Cf. also Propertius ii. 1. 4-16, where a similar thought is worked out.

*Und.* iii: See below under lvii.

*Und.* viii: I have pointed out the source of the last line in my article in *Modern Philology*, X, 573 ff.

*Und.* x:

'Tis true, he could not reprehend  
His very Manners, taught t' amend,  
They were so even, grave, and holy;  
No stubbornnesse so stiffe, nor folly  
To licence ever was so light,  
As twice to trespasse in his sight,  
His lookes would so correct it, when  
It chid the vice, yet not the Men.  
Much from him I professe I wonne,  
And more, and more, I should have done,  
But that I understood him scant.

Jonson seems to have remembered something of the description of the philosopher Euphrates in Pliny *Epist.* i. 10:

est enim obviu8 et expositu8 plenu8que humanitate, quam praecipit. atque utinam sic ipse quam spem tunc ille de me concepit impleverim, ut ille multum virtutibus suis addidit! aut ego nunc illas magis miror, quia magis intellego. quamquam ne nunc quidem satis intellego. . . . nullu8 horror in cultu, nulla tristitia, multum severitatis: reverearis occursum, non reformides. vitae sanctitas summa, comitas par: insectatur vitia, non homines, nec castigat errantes, sed emendat.

*Und.* xii: The main critical doctrine enunciated by Jonson in this piece is that nature and art must co-operate. He is of course directly inspired by Horace *De arte poetica* 408:

Natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte,  
quaesitum est: ego nec studium sine divite vena,  
nec rude quid prosit video ingenium: alterius sic  
altera poscit opem et coniurat amice.

So Jonson's simile of the anvil was suggested by the same author, *ibid.* 440:

delere iubebat  
et male tornatos incudi reddere versus.

But these wayes  
 Were not the paths I meant unto thy praise:  
 For seeliest Ignorance on these may light,  
 Which, when it sounds at best, but eccho's right;  
 Or blinde Affection, which doth ne're advance  
 The truth, but gropes, and urgeth all by chance;  
 Or crafty Malice, might pretend this praise,  
 And thinke to ruine, where it seem'd to raise.

Bacon, Essay LIII, "Of Praise":

There be so many false points of praise, that a man may justly hold it a suspect. Some praises proceed merely of flattery. . . . Some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy toward them; *pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium*; insomuch that it was a proverb among the Grecians, that he that was praised to his hurt, should have a push rise upon his nose; as we say, that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie. Certainly moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. Salomon saith, He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a curse.

This doctrine of moderate praise will explain why Jonson's language has appeared to various readers as "sparing and invidious." Note in this connection the passages cited below under *Und.* xxxi.

In reading Jonson's tribute to Shakespeare, I have been rather puzzled as to just what he meant by the expression,

turne the same,  
 (And himselfe with it), etc.

Why is the poet to turn himself? How can he turn himself in anything like the same way as that in which the verse is turned? The general idea is perhaps clear enough, but the language is remarkable, and I have come to the conclusion that almost every strange expression in Jonson has its special explanation. In Latin *torqueo* means to turn, and Horace uses the word in a passage (*Epist.* ii. 2. 124) in which he is discussing precisely the same topic that Jonson is here occupied with. The poet who wishes to write a *legitimum poema* (cf. "Who casts to write a living line"),

ludentis speciem dabit et torquebitur, ut qui  
 nunc Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur.

He will turn and twist himself like a mime. As one commentator puts it: "The idea is that grace and ease of style comes through slow

and diligent training, just as the apparently simple movements of the dance. As *ludere* may mean *to dance*, and *torqueri*, *to turn oneself*, the comparison of the next verse is readily suggested." It would seem then that Jonson expects his readers to recognize the allusion to the Horatian passage and to vary the meaning of the word "turn" accordingly.

*Und.* xxx: I pointed out, before I knew of Castelain's discussion in his edition of *Discoveries*, pp. 143 ff., most of the Senecan sources of this piece in *Modern Philology*, X, 573 ff. My excuse for returning to the subject here is that there are still one or two passages worth quoting from Seneca, while Castelain, though he quotes Plutarch, overlooks a number of places where Jonson was unquestionably making use of that author. Thus Jonson's full indebtedness has not yet been brought out.

enquire

Like Money-brokers; after Names.

Horace *Serm.* i. 2. 16:

nomina sectatur modo sumpta veste virili.

I have the lyst of mine owne faults to know,	
Looke too and cure; Hee's not a man hath none,	115
But like to be, that every day mends one,	
And feeles it; Else he tarries by the Beast,	
Can I discerne how shadowes are decreast,	
Or growne; by height or lownesse of the Sunne?	
And can I lesse of substance? when I runne,	120
Ride, saile, am coach'd, know I how farre I have gone,	
And my minds motion not? or have I none:	
No! he must feele and know, that I will advance	
Men have beene great, but never good by chance,	
Or on the sudden. . . .	125
'Tis by degrees that men arrive at glad	
Profit in ought each day some little adde,	
In time 'twill be a heape; This is not true	
Alone in money, but in manners too.	
Yet we must more then move still, or goe on,	135
We must accomplish; 'Tis the last Key-stone	
That makes the Arch, The rest that there were put	
Are nothing till that comes to bind and shut.	
Then stands it a triumphall marke! then Men	
Observe the strength, the height, the why, and when,	140

It was erected; and still walking under  
 Meet some new matter to looke up and wonder!  
 Such Notes are vertuous men! they live as fast  
 As they are high; are rooted and will last.  
 They need no stilts, nor rise upon their toes, 145  
 As if they would belie their stature, those  
 Are Dwarfes of Honour, and have neither weight  
 Nor fashion. . . .

114-25. *De vita beata* xvii. 3:

non sum sapiens . . . . nec ero . . . . hoc mihi satis est, cotidie  
 aliquid ex vitiis meis demere.

In more than one place Seneca points out that no human being can attain the ideal state of wisdom and virtue, i.e., he's not a man (for he is more than a man) that hath no faults.

124-25. I compared in my article Juvenal ii. 83. Better parallels are these from Seneca *Epist.* xlii. 1:

vir bonus tam cito nec fieri potest nec intellegi;

and xxiii. 16:

Nemo est casu bonus. discenda virtus est.

118-25, 130-34. Plutarch, *How a Man May Be Sensible of His Progress in Virtue*, trans. of 1870, ii. 449:

You know the art of navigation; when the seamen hoist sail for the main ocean, they give judgment of their voyage by observing together the space of time and the force of the wind that driveth them, and compute that, in all probability, in so many months, with such a gale, they have gone forward to such or such a place. Just so it is in the study of philosophy. . . . He that is always at his business, constantly upon the road, never makes any stops or halts, nor meets with obstacles and lets in the way, but under the conduct of right reason travels smoothly, securely, and quietly along, may be assured that he has one true sign of the proficient. This of the poet,

Add many lesser numbers in account,  
 Your total will to a vast sum amount,

not only holds true as to the increase of money, but also may serve as a rule to the knowledge of the advance of everything else, especially of proficiency in virtue.

The quotation, according to the note given, is from Hesiod *Works and Days* 361.

136-38. Plut., *ibid.*, 474:

But the proficients in virtue, who have already laid the golden solid foundation of a virtuous life, as of a sacred and royal building, take especial care of the whole work, examine and model every part of it according to the rule of reason, believing that it was well said by Polycletus that the hardest work remained for them to do whose nails must touch the clay—that is, to lay the top stone is the great business and masterpiece of the work. The last stroke gives beauty and perfection to the whole piece.

145-46. Sen. *Epist.* cxi. 3:

talis est . . . . verus . . . . philosophus . . . . non exsurgit in plantas nec summis ambulat digitis eorum more, qui mendacio staturam adiuvant longioresque quam sunt videri volunt: contentus est magnitudine sua.

*Und.* xxxi: When Jonson remarks that there is not a more pernicious enemy to study than injudicious praise, he perhaps is recalling some such passage as that in Seneca *Ep.* cii. 16:

et cum aequae antiquus poeta ait: *laus alit artes*, non laudationem dicit, quae corrumpit artes. nihil enim aequae et eloquentiam et omne aliud studium auribus deditum vitiavit quam popularis adsensio.

Not flie the Crime, but the Suspition too.

This and the lines following it, in which Jonson carefully explains why what he does in this poem differs somewhat from his former practice, should be compared with Bacon, Essay XI:

And avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion [of bribery]. Who-soever is found variable, and changeth manifestly, without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption. Therefore always when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change; and do not think to steal it.

With Jonson's explanation of the reason why he praised some men too much, compare Bacon, Essay LIII:

Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, *laudando praecipere*, when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be.

Since being deceiv'd, I turne a sharper eye  
Upon my selfe, and aske to whom? and why?  
And what I write? and vexe it many dayes  
Before men get a verse: much lesse a Praise.

Horace *Epist.* i. 18. 68, 76:

quid de quoque viro et cui dicas, saepe videto. . . .  
Qualem commendes etiam atque etiam aspice.

I wonder'd at the riches, but am lost  
To see the workmanship so exceed the cost!

Ovid: *Met.* ii. 5:

Materiam superabat opus.

With the latter part of the poem compare the following passage from Bacon, *Adv. of Learning*, I:

Books (such as are worthy the name of books) ought to have no patrons but truth and reason; and the ancient custom was to dedicate them only to private and equal friends, or to intitle the books with their names; or if to kings and great persons, it was to some such as the argument of the book was fit and proper for.

With Jonson's commendation of the dedication to Heywood and his explanation of why the dedication was suitable, compare from Selden's own dedication (I quote from the edition of 1631, as the first is not accessible):

DEER SIR. You are one that can rightly esteeme a worke and iudge both of it, and of the ability that begets it. And to such only are these kind of gifts to be thus presented. Loue and Honor are best testified by what fits the quality to which you giue them. . . . But the truly Generous soule well knowes and freely vses its owne strength, not only in prudently gaining and iudging of what it selfe selects and loues best within the vast Circle of knowledge [which may have suggested Jonson's own use of the phrase earlier in the poem], but in iustly valuing also what another chuses there. . . . I confesse, Sir, your Nobler Contemplations, of Nature and the Mathematiques, are farre remote from the Subiect I giue you. Yet there is habitude euen betweene it and them also. . . . Thus some parts of your own Studies, may perhaps be sometimes pleased with it.

*Und.* xxxii:

Bought Flatteries, the issue of his purse.

Juv. x. 46:

niveos ad frena Quirites,  
defossa in loculos quos sportula fecit amicos.

Here of course the purse belongs to the flatterer, not to the flattered; but a passage recalled vaguely would easily suffer such a change.

lay his fortune out to show  
Till envie wound, or maimed it at a blow!



*Ibid.* 56-58:

quosdam praecipitat subiecta potentia magnae  
invidiae, mergit longa atque insignis honorum  
pagina

See him, that's call'd, and thought the happiest man,  
Honour'd at once, and envi'd (if it can  
Be honour is so mixt) by such as would  
For all their spight be like him if they could.

Sen. *De ben.* i. 9. 2: "colunt enim detestanturque felicem et, si  
potuerint, eadem facturi, odere facientem."

Where Pittes, or Wright, or Modet would not venter.

So Lesbia, in Martial i. 34, is more immodest than a prostitute:

A Chione saltem vel ab Iade disce pudorem.

Adulteries now, are not so hid, or strange,  
They're growne Commoditie upon Exchange;  
He that will follow but anothers wife,  
Is lov'd, though he let out his owne for life:  
The Husband now's call'd churlish, or a poore  
Nature, that will not let his Wife be a whore;  
Or use all arts, or haunt all Companies  
That may corrupt her, even in his eyes.  
The brother trades a sister; and the friend  
Lives to the Lord, but to the Ladies end.  
Lesse must not be thought on then Mistresse: or  
If it be thought kild like her Embrions; for,  
Whom no great Mistresse, hath as yet infam'd  
A fellow of course Letcherie, is nam'd  
The Servant of the Serving-woman in scorne,  
Ne're came to taste the plenteous Mariage-horne.

Thus they doe talke. And are these objects fit  
For man to spend his money on? his wit?  
His time? health? soule? will he for these goe throw  
Those thousands on his back, shall after blow  
His body to the Counters, or the Fleete?  
Is it for these that fine man meets the street  
Coach'd, or on foot-cloth, thrice chang'd every day,  
To teach each suit, he has the ready way  
From Hide-Parke to the Stage, where at the last  
His deare and borrow'd Bravery he must cast?  
When not his Combes, his Curling-irons, his Glasse,

Sweet bags, sweet Powders, nor sweet words will passe  
 For lesse Securitie? O                   for these  
 Is it that man pulls on himselfe Disease?  
 Surfet? and Quarrell? drinkes the tother health?  
 Or by Damnation voids it? or by stealth?  
 What furie of late is crept into our Feasts?  
 What honour given to the drunkennest Guests?  
 What reputation to beare one Glasse more?  
 When oft the Bearer, is borne out of dore?  
 This hath our ill-us'd freedome, and soft peace  
 Brought on us, and will every houre increase  
 Our vices, doe not tarry in a place,  
 But being in Motion still (or rather in race)  
 Tilt one upon another, and now beare  
 This way, now that, as if their number were  
 More then themselves, or then our lives could take,  
 But both fell prest under the load they make.

This whole passage is chiefly based on *De ben.* i. 9. 3-4; 10. 2-3:

Coniugibus alienis ne clam quidem, sed aperte ludibrio aditis suas aliis permisere. Rusticus, inhumanus ac mali moris et inter matronas abominanda condicio est, si quis coniugem suam in sella prostare vetuit et vulgo admissis inspectoribus vehi perspicuam undique. Si quis nulla se amica fecit insignem nec alienae uxori annum praestat, hunc matronae humilem et sordidae libidinis et ancillariolum vocant. Decentissimum sponsaliorum genus est adulterium. et in consensu vidui caelibatus nemo uxorem duxit, nisi qui abduxit . . . nunc cultus corporum nimius et formae cura prae se ferens animi deformitatem. nunc in petulantiam et audaciam erumpet male dispensata libertas. nunc in crudelitatem privatam ac publicam ibitur bellorumque civilium insaniam, qua omne sanctum ac sacrum profanetur. habebitur aliquando ebrietati honor et plurimum meri cepisse virtus erit. Non expectant uno loco vitia, sed mobilia et inter se dissidentia tumultuantur, pellunt invicem fuganturque: ceterum idem semper de nobis pronuntiare debemus, malos esse nos, malos fuisse, invitus adiciam et futuros esse.

When he wrote about the evils of soft peace, Jonson had more or less consciously in mind the "nunc patimur longae pacis mala, saevior armis" of *Juv.* vi. 292, as well as the "male dispensata libertas" of Seneca.

He that no more for Age, Cramps, Palsies, can  
 Now use the bones, we see doth hire a man  
 To take the box up for him; and pursues  
 The Dice with glassen eyes.

Horace *Serm.* ii. 7. 15-18:

Scurra Volanerius, postquam illi iusta cheragra  
contudit articulos, qui pro se tolleret atque  
mitteret in phimum talos, mercede diurna  
conductum pavit.

Erasmus uses this passage also in the *Praise of Folly*.

or have we got  
In this, and like, an itch of Vanitie,  
That scratching now's our best Felicitie?

Sen. *De tranq. animi.* ii. 11-12:

grata omnis illi excitandi se abstrahendique materia est, gratior pessimis  
quibusque ingeniis, quae occupationibus libenter deterunter, ut ulcera quaedam  
nocituras manus adpetant et tactu gaudent et foedam corporum scabiem  
delectat, quicquid exasperat: non aliter dixerim his mentibus, in quas  
cupiditates velut mala ulcera eruperunt, voluptati esse laborem vexationemque.

*Und.* xxxv:

I can helpe that with boldnesse; And love sware,  
And fortune once, t'assist the spirits that dare.

It may very well be that Jonson had in mind the two proverbs that Gifford speaks of, but it is worth noting that the two proverbs had already been joined by a writer with whom Jonson was very familiar; Ovid has, *Ars amatoria* i. 607 ff., the following lines:

fuge rustica longe  
Hinc Pudor! audentem Forsque Venusque iuvat.

The addition of the third idea (boldness = *fuge Pudor*) makes the borrowing practically certain.

*Und.* xxxvi:

By those bright Eyes, at whose immortall fires  
Love lights his torches to inflame desires.

Tibullus iv. 2. 5-6:

illius ex oculis, cum vult exurere divos,  
accendit geminas lampadas acer Amor.

*Und.* xli:

Minds that are great and free,  
Should not on fortune pause,  
'Tis crowne enough to vertue still, her owne applause.

Sen. *De vita beata*. ix:

non enim hanc [voluptatem] praestat [virtus], sed et hanc, nec huic laborat, sed labor eius, quamvis aliud petat, hoc quoque adsequetur. . . . Itaque erras, cum interrogas, quid sit illud propter quod virtutem petam: quaeris enim aliquid supra summum. interrogas, quid petam ex virtute? ipsam. nihil enim habet melius, ipse pretium est.

So *De Clementia* i. 1: "quamvis enim recte factorum verus fructus sit fecisse," and see *Epist.* lxxxi. 19, and Claudian *De cons. Manl. Theod. Paneg.* 1-3.

*Und.* xlii: Gifford rightly noted that this poem cannot well be understood without a reference to the frontispiece which it describes, but he did not feel that it was any part of his editorial duty to furnish the reader with the requisite information. I give here a description before pointing out the source of the poem. At the top is the eye of Providence; just below is the world, on either side of which stand Fama Mala and Fama Bona. The world rests in the upturned hands of Magistra Vitae, i.e., History, who in turn has one foot upon a skeleton, Mors, the other upon Oblivio. On one side of History stands, in a niche between two pillars, Experientia, with her wand and plummet; one of the pillars, inscribed Testis Temporum, is adorned with figures of books; the other, entitled Nuncia Vetustatis, bears various symbols, some of a mathematical, others apparently of an astrological, character. In a corresponding niche on the other side stands Veritas, naked of course, and with her upraised right hand encircled with flames; her pillars are: Lux Veritatis, adorned with flames; Vita Memoriae, bearing a flourishing vine. Thus every line of the poem refers to a particular part of the frontispiece, which was engraved by Elstrack. The source of Jonson's poem and of the design of the engraving is found in Cicero *De or.* ii. 9:

Eadem facultate et fraus hominum ad perniciem, et integritas ad salutem, vocatur. Quis cohortari ad virtutem ardentius, quis a vitiis acrius revocare, quis vituperare improbos asperius, quis laudare bonos ornatius, quis cupitatem vehementius frangere accusando, potest? quis moerorem levare mitius consolando? Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuncia vetustatis, qua voce alia, nisi oratoris, immortalitati commendatur?

*Und.* xlv: Gifford notes the quotation from Horace, but the poem as a whole was evidently suggested by Propertius ii. 34. 85 ff.:

haec quoque perfecto ludebat Iasone Varro,  
 Varro Leucadiae maxima flamma suae.  
 haec quoque lascivi cantarunt scripta Catulli,  
 Lesbia quis ipsa notior est Helena.  
 haec etiam docti confessa est pagina Calvi,  
 cum caneret miseræ funera Quintiliae.  
 et modo formosa quam multa Lycoride Gallus  
 mortuus inferna vulnera lavit aqua!  
 Cynthia quin etiam versu laudata Properti,  
 hos inter si me ponere Fama volet.

*Und.* li: Gifford has noted the quotation from Lucan, but the main sources of the piece he overlooked. Some lines are suggested by a poem by Dousa. There is no edition accessible to me at the moment, but Burton in the *Anatomy* quotes twice from him in dealing with the topic of lawyers (see pp. 46, 205, of the ordinary one-volume edition of the *Anatomy*). In the second reference Burton cites "Ja. Dousa Epodon. lib. 2. car. 2.", and quotes as follows:

Quibus loquacis affatim arrogantiae est,  
 Peritiae parum aut nihil,  
 Nec ulla mica literarii salis,  
 Crumenimulga natio:  
 Loquuteleia turba, litium strophæ,  
 Maligna litigantium cohors, togati vultures,  
 Lavernæ alumni, Agyrtes, &c.

Compare Jonson:

But when I read or heare the names so rife  
 Of hirelings, wranglers, stitchers-to of strife,  
 Hook-handed Harpies, gowned vultures, put  
 Upon the reverend Pleaders.

Such is what Jonson calls, a line or two farther on, "Dogs eloquence." The phrase is from Quintilian xii. 9. 9. This fact leads me to point out that Jonson praises his counselor in accordance with the qualifications Quintilian demands that he should possess. He must of course be a good and learned man. He should be careful what causes he undertakes, and must even on examination refuse to carry

on a case already accepted if he think it unjust; ll. 16-22 of Jonson are apparently based on xii. 7. 6 and 7 of Quintilian.

Another author borrowed from is Tacitus.

As if the generall store thou didst command  
Of Argument, still drawing forth the best,  
And not being borrowed by thee, but possesst.  
So comm'st thou like a Chiefe into the Court  
Arm'd at all peecees . . . .  
Then com'st thou off with Victorie and Palme,  
Thy Hearers Nectar. . . .

*Dial. de orat.* 32:

primum enim aliter utimur propriis, aliter commodatis, longeque interesse manifestum est, possideat quis quae profert an mutuetur . . . idque non doctus modo et prudens auditor, sed etiam populus intellegit ac statim ita laude prosequitur, ut legitime studuisse, ut per omnes eloquentiae numeros isse, ut denique oratorem esse fateatur; quem non posse aliter existere nec extitisse umquam confirmo, nisi eum, qui tamquam in aciem omnibus armis instructus, sic in forum omnibus artibus armatus exierit.

*Und.* Iv: "Mix spirits" is a Latinism; cf. Cicero *De amic.* xxi; and for the doctrine of Jonson's poem, cf. *ibid.* xxiii-xxvi.

*Und.* lvi: Who but Jonson would ever have thought of making a love elegy out of a number of scraps from Seneca's *De Clementia*? All my quotations are from the first book.

15-18. xxi. 3:

Hoc est etiam ex victoria sua triumphare testarique nihil se quod dignum esset victore apud victos invenisse.

And the doctrine of the whole chapter is to the effect that one should not wantonly revenge.

28-30. xxi. 2:

quisquis ex alto ad inimici pedes abiectus alienam de capite regnoque sententiam expectavit, in servatoris sui gloriam vivit plusque nomini eius confert incolumis, quam si ex oculis ablatum est.

40-50. xiv:

Quod ergo officium eius est? quod honorum parentum, qui obiurgare liberos nonnumquam blande, nonnumquam minaciter solent, aliquando admonere etiam verberibus. Numquid aliquis sanus filium a prima offensa exheredit? nisi magnae et multae iniuriae patientiam evicerint, nisi plus est quod timet quam quod damnat, non accedit ad decretorium

stilum. multa ante temptat, quibus dubiam indolem et peiore loco iam positam revocet: simul deploratum est, ultima experitur. nemo ad supplicia exigenda pervenit, nisi qui remedia consumpsit. . . . Tarde sibi pater membra sua absceidat. etiam cum absceiderit, reponere cupiat et in absceidendo gemat cunctatus multum diuque.

51-52. xvii. 2:

Mali medici est desperare . . . . agat princeps curam non tantum salutis, sed etiam honestae cicatricis.

67 ff. vii. 1-3:

Quoniam deorum feci mentionem, optime hoc exemplum principi constituam, ad quod formetur, ut se talem esse civibus, quales sibi deos velit. Expediit ergo habere inexorabilia peccatis atque erroribus numina? expediit usque ad ultimam infesta perniciem? et quis regum erit tutus, cuius non membra haruspices colligant? Quod si di placabiles et aequi delicta potentium non statim fulminibus persequuntur, quanto aequius est hominem hominibus praepositum miti animo exercere imperium et cogitare, utrum mundi status gravior oculis pulchriorque sit sereno et puro die an quum fragoribus crebris omnia quatiantur et ignes hinc atque illinc micant? atqui non alia facies est quieti moratique imperii quam sereni coeli et nitentis. Crudele regnum turbidum tenebrisque obscurum est, inter trementes et ad repentinum sonitum expavescentes ne eo quidem qui omnia perturbat inconcusso. Facilius privatis ignoscitur pertinaciter se vindicantibus. possunt enim laedi dolorque eorum ab iniuria venit. timent praeterea contemptum, et non retulisse laedentibus gratiam infirmitas videtur, non clementia.

And viii. 5:

Ut fulmina paucorum periculo cadunt, omnium metu, sic animadversiones magnarum potestatum terrent latius quam nocent.

99-104. Plut., *How a Young Man Ought to Hear Poems*, trans. 1870, ii. 76:

For which purpose Plato teacheth us that we ought to inure ouselves to fear blame and disgrace more than labor and danger.

105-6. xxii. 3:

Constituit bonos mores civitati princeps et vitia eius facilius reprimit, si patiens eorum est, non tamquam probet, sed tamquam invitus et cum magno tormento ad castigandum veniat: verecundiam peccandi facit ipsa clementia regentis.

*Und.* lvii:

Are vovos so cheape with women? or the matter  
Whereof they are made, that they are writ in water?

Catullus lxx:

dicit: sed mulier cupido quod dicit amanti,  
in vento et rapida scribere oportet aqua.

Who could have thought so many accents sweet . . . . .  
. . . . could now prove emptie blisses?  
Did you draw bonds to forfeit?

Tibullus iii. 4. 83-84:

nec tibi crediderim votis contraria vota  
nec tantum crimen pectore inesse tuo.

Sooner I'll thinke the Sunne would cease to cheare  
The teeming Earth, and that forget to beare;  
Sooner that Rivers would run back, or Thames  
With ribs of Ice in June would bind his streames:  
Or Nature, by whose strength the world indures,  
Would change her course, before you alter yours.

This form of adjuration is common enough to all poetry, from classical times down, and I cannot point out a special passage from which this one might have been taken. Two bits in Propertius are, however, apt:

i. 15. 29-30:

muta prius vasto labentur flumina ponto,  
annus et inversas duxerit ante vices,  
quam, etc.

iii. 19. 5 ff.:

flamma per incensas citius sedetur aristas  
fluminaque ad fontis sint reditura caput, etc.

like Painters that doe take  
Delight, not in made workes, but whilst they make.

Seneca *Epist.* ix. 7:

Attalus philosophus dicere solebat: "iucundius esse amicum facere quam habere. quomodo artificii iucundius pingere est quam pinxisse." Illa in opere suo occupata sollicitudo ingens oblectamentum habet in ipsa occupatione. non aequè delectatur, qui ab opere perfecto removet manum. iam fructu artis suae fruitur: ipsa fruebatur arte, cum pingeret.



This passage of Seneca was also utilized in *Und.* iv.

Love in your eyes, that gave my tongue the Law  
To like what you lik'd, and at Masques, or Playes,  
Commend the selfe-same Actors, the same wayes  
Aske how you did? and often with intent  
Of being officious, grow impertinent.

Ovid *Ars amatoria* ii. 197 ff.:

Cede repugnanti: cedendo victor abibis;  
Fac modo, quas partis illa iubebit, agas!  
Arguet: arguito; quidquid probat illa, probato;  
Quod dicet, dicas; quod negat illa, neges!  
Riserit: adride; si flebit, flere memento!

Cf. *ibid.* i. 145-46, 151-52:

Cuius equi veniant, facito studiose requiras,  
Nec mora, quisquis erit, cui favet illa, fave! . . .  
Et si nullus erit pulvis, tamen excute nullum:  
Quaelibet officio causa sit apta tuo.

The curse in ll. 39 ff. of Jonson's poem reminds one of the curse toward the end of *Und.* lxi and of that in iii, 5, of *Epicoene*. With this play, iv. 1. 121-22, "like what she likes, praise whom she praises," compare the lines above. With the line "He first desire you false, would wish you just," compare "Then I will study falsehood, to be true," from the preceding piece (for I daresay that, after what I have pointed out above as to the sources of that elegy, no one will now embrace Fleay's opinion that it was by Donne). These are some, but by no means all, of the reasons why I think that editors of Donne should examine the matter far more carefully than they appear to have done as yet before they consider the authorship of this piece a settled question. For instance, the evidence of the manuscripts has, it seems to me, nothing like the force attributed to it by Grierson, and I believe the canon of the Folio text of *Underwoods* is trustworthy, partly because it was edited by Digby, partly because of internal evidence. I cannot, however, go into the point at length here.

*Und.* lviii:

But ever without Blazon, or least shade  
 Of vowes so sacred, and in silence made;  
 For though Love thrive, and may grow up with cheare,  
 And free societie, hee's borne else-where,  
 And must be bred, so to conceale his birth, etc.

Propertius ii. 25. 29-33:

tu tamen interea, quamvis te diligat illa,  
 in tacito cohibe gaudia clausa sinu:  
 namque in amore suo semper sua maxima cuique  
 nescio quo pacto verba nocere solent.

Tibullus iv. 13. 7-8:

nil opus invidia est, procul absit gloria vulgi:  
 qui sapit, in tacito gaudeat ille sinu.

*Und.* lx:

Let me be what I am, as Virgil cold  
 As Horace fat; or as Anacreon old;  
 No poets verses yet did ever move,  
 Whose Readers did not thinke he was in love.

Jonson is here expressing one of the fundamental doctrines of classical aesthetic theory; cf. Cicero *De or.* ii. 45:

Neque fieri potest, ut doleat is qui audit . . . nisi omnes ii motus, quos orator adhibere volet iudici, in ipso oratore impressi atque inusti videbuntur.

So Horace *De arte poet.* 102, and cf. Sidney, *Apologie*, ed. Arber, 67:

But truly many of such writings, as come vnder the banner of vnresistable loue, if I were a Mistress, would neuer perswade mee they were in loue: so coldely they apply fiery speeches [etc.].

Other critical writings of the period dilate on the topic.

*Und.* lxii: "A speach according to Horace." Castelain (*Ben Jonson*, p. 793) has called attention to the fact that in this title "speech" translates *sermo*, and we may take the occasion to point out that Jonson seems in this poem to be imitating more or less the restrained irony of Horace rather than, as usual, the vehemence of Juvenal. For that reason this piece stands out as unique among Jonson's satirical poems. In spite of that fact, however, Jonson has

Juvenal in mind, so far as part of the subject-matter is concerned, as anyone will readily observe who chooses to compare the eighth satire. That satire is devoted to the general theme that virtue is the true nobility. Juvenal emphasizes, as Jonson does, the principle that honorable descent is of value only if oneself maintain the ancestral virtue. Juvenal's lines, 44 f.:

'vos humiles' inquis 'volgi pars ultima nostri,  
quorum nemo queat patriam monstrare parentis,  
ast ego Cecropides,'

seem to have suggested to Jonson the lines that he puts into the mouth of the worthless noble. Another passage, 134,

de quocumque voles proavum tibi sumito libro,

apparently suggested the words:

Wee,  
Descended in a rope of Titles, be  
From Guy, or Bevis, Arthur, or from whom  
The Herald will.

For the vices of the Roman degenerates Jonson naturally substitutes their equivalents in the life of contemporary London.

The last third of this speech may owe something in thought to the speech of Marius to the Roman citizens, Sall. *Iug.* lxxxv. 37 ff.:

Quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos, illorum aemulos, contemnit; et omnes honores, non ex merito, sed quasi debitos, a vobis repetit. Ceterum homines superbissimi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia, quae licebat, illis reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam sui praeclaram: virtutem non reliquere; neque poterant: ea sola neque datur dono, neque accipitur. "Sordidum me et incultis moribus" aiunt, quia parum scite convivium exorno, neque histrionem ullum, neque pluris pretii coquum quam villicum habeo. Quae mihi libet confiteri, Quirites, nam ex parente meo, et ex aliis sanctis viris ita accepi, munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire; omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriae quam divitiarum esse; arma, non supellectilem decori esse. Quin ergo, quod juvat, quod carum aestimant, id semper faciant; ament, potent: ubi adolescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissimae parti corporis: sordorem, pulverem, et alia talia relinquant nobis, quibus illa epulis jucundiora sunt. Verum non est ita: nam ubi se flagitiis dedecoravere turpissimi viri, bonorum praemia ereptum eunt. Ita injustissime luxuria et ignavia, pessimae artes, illis, qui coluere eas, nihil officiunt, reipublicae innoxiae cladi sunt.

It seems, however, more likely that Jonson is drawing from the Dutch scholar Lipsius, for I find in Burton, pp. 208-9 of the ordinary one-volume edition, a passage apparently quoted from Lipsius and very closely parallel to the latter part of Jonson's poem. As I have not access to an edition of Lipsius, I can do no more than refer to the passage in the *Anatomy*.

*Und. lxiii:*

I neither am, nor art thou one of those  
That hearkens to a Jacks-pulse, when it goes.  
Nor ever trusted to that friendship yet  
Was issue of the Taverne, or the Spit.

Plut., *Of the Folly of Seeking Many Friends*, trans. 1870, i. 466-67:

The palaces of noble men and princes appear guarded with splendid retinues of diligent obsequious servants, and every room is crowded with a throng of visitors . . . and it may be thought, I confess, at first sight, that such are very fortunate in having so many cordial, real friends at their command. . . . Change the scene, and you may observe a far greater number of flies as industriously busy in their kitchens; and as these would vanish, were the dishes empty, and clean, so neither would that other sort of insect pay any further respect, were nothing to be got by it.

And Martial ix. 14:

Hunc, quem mensa tibi, quem cena paravit amicum,  
Esse putas fidae pectus amicitiae?  
Aprum amat, etc.

And as within your Office, you doe take  
No piece of money, but you know, or make  
Inquire of the worth: So must we doe,  
First weigh a friend, then touch, and trie him too.

Plut., *ibid.*, 467:

Whoever without due trial put themselves upon us for friends we examine as bad money; and the cheat being discovered, etc.

Plut., 468:

He that would secure a lasting friendship and acquaintance must first deliberately judge and thoroughly try its worth, before he settles it.

So in *How to Know a Flatterer from a Friend*, ii. 102:

And therefore we should rather try our friend, as we do our money, whether or not he be passable and current, before we need him.

'Tis vertue alone, or nothing that knits friends.

Plut., 466:

That which procures love and friendship in the world is a sweet and obliging temper of mind, a lively readiness in doing good offices, together with a constant habit of virtue.

Men have Masques and nets,  
But these with wearing will themselves unfold:  
They cannot last. No lie grew ever old.

Sen. *Epist.* lxxix. 18:

Nihil simulatio proficit. paucis imponit leviter extrinsecus inducta facies: veritas in omnem sui partem eadem est. Quae decipiunt, nihil habent solidi. tenue est mendacium: perlucet, si diligenter inspexeris.

See also *De clem.* i. 1. 6:

Nemo enim potest personam diu ferre.

In *Disc.* (No. 60, ed. Castelain; p. 20, ed. Schelling) Jonson attributes the saying "No lie grew ever old," to Euripides, but Castelain says nothing about the attribution, and Schelling remarks that he has not been able to verify it. In the same passage, Jonson says "nothing is lasting that is fain'd," and this looks very much like a reminiscence of the "quae decipiunt, nihil habent solidi," above. Compare, however, Cic. *De off.* ii. 12:

Nec simulatum potest quicquam esse diuturnum.

looke, if he be  
Friend to himselfe, that would be friend to thee.  
For that is first requir'd, A man be his owne.

Sen. *Epist.* vi. 7:

Interim quoniam diurnam tibi mercedulam debeo, quid me hodie apud Hecatonem delectaverit dicam. "Quaeris, inquit, quid profecerim? amicus esse mihi." Multum profecit: numquam erit solus. scito hunc amicum omnibus esse.

This is likewise Aristotelian doctrine. In discussing the problem whether a man may be his own friend, he remarks that we "must make it our ambition to be virtuous; for then we shall stand in a friendly relation to ourselves, and shall become the friends of others." And farther on: "But these conditions and all such others as are characteristic of friendship are best realized in the relation of a man to himself; for it has been said that all the characteristics of friendship

in the relation of a man to other men are derived from his relation to himself" (*Ethics*, Welldon, pp. 293, 300).

*Und.* lxix:

Whose even Thred the Fates spinne round, and full,  
Out of their Choysest, and their whitest wooll.

Cf. Juvenal xii. 64-65:

postquam Parcae meliora benigna  
pensa manu ducunt hilares et staminis albi  
lanificae.

For other parallels see Friedlaender, *ad loc.*

*Und.* lxxxii:

How happy were the Subject! if he knew  
Most pious King, but his owne good in you!

So in *Loves Wel-come* (at Bolsover): "Which is, that first the Peoples love would let that People know their owne happinesse." The idea is of course from the "sua si bona norint," *Georgics* ii. 458.

*Und.* lxxxiii:

To compare small with great.

Virgil *Georgics* iv. 176:

si parva licet componere magnis.

*Und.* lxxxvi:

But as the wretched Painter, who so ill  
Painted a Dog, that now his subtler skill  
Was, t' have a Boy stand with a Club, and fright  
All live dogs from the lane, and his shops sight.  
Till he had sold his Piece, drawne so unlike:  
So doth the flattrer, with farre cunning strike  
At a Friends freedome, proves all circling meanes  
To keepe him off; and how-so-e're he gleanes  
Some of his formes, he lets him not come neere  
Where he would fixe, for the distinctions feare.

Plut., *How to Know a Flatterer*, ii. 136:

There remains yet another way to discover him by his inclinations towards your intimates and familiars. . . . Therefore this light and empty counterfeit, finding he wants weight when put into the balance against a solid and substantial friend, endeavors to remove him as far as he can, like him who, having painted a cock extremely ill, commanded his servant to take the original out of sight.

When Jonson speaks of the flatterer as gleaningsome of the forms of the friend, he is simply summarizing Plutarch's whole essay, the theme of which is the fact that a flatterer looks like and imitates a friend, but can be distinguished on close inspection.

*Und.* lxxxvii: Besides the source marked down by Whalley, note that the middle part of this poem is based on Seneca, and the last stanza but one on Aristotle. The whole of Seneca's ninety-third epistle should be compared. I extract the more interesting parts:

Non ut diu vivamus curandum est, sed ut satis. . . . Longa est vita, si plena est. . . . Quid illum octoginta anni iuvant per inertiam exacti? non vixit iste, sed in vita moratus est, nec sero mortuus est, sed diu. "Octoginta annis vixit." Immo octoginta annis fuit, nisi forte sic vixisse eum dicis, quomodo dicuntur arbores vivere. . . . "At ille obiit viridis." sed officia boni civis, boni amici, boni filii executus est: in nulla parte cessavit. licet aetas eius imperfecta sit, vita perfecta est . . . . actu illam metiamur, non tempore. Vis scire, quid inter hunc intersit, vegetum contemptoremque fortunae, functum omnibus vitae humanae stipendiis atque in summum bonum eius evectum, et illum, cui multi anni transmissi sunt? alter post mortem quoque est, alter ante mortem periit. Laudemus itaque et in numero felicitum reponamus eum, cui quantulumcumque temporis contigit, bene collocatum est. . . . Quemadmodum in minore corporis habitu potest homo esse perfectus, sic et in minore temporis modo potest vita esse perfecta . . . . qualis quantusque esset ostendit: si quid adiecisset, fuisset simile praeterito. . . . "Non tam multis vixit annis quam potuit." Et paucorum versuum liber est et quidem laudandus et utilis.

The same sentiments are in Plutarch's *Consolation to Apollonius*, i. 317-19, but it is Seneca that Jonson is using. Similar ideas occur elsewhere in Seneca.

The doctrine of the origin of friendship out of virtue is Aristotelian; see *Ethics*, Weldon, 294-95, where Aristotle is discussing good will as "the germ of friendship," and cf. Cicero *De amic.* vi. With the next to the last stanza, cf. Aristotle *ibid.* 314:

But the friendship of the virtuous is virtuous; it grows as their intercourse grows, and they seem to be morally elevated by the exercise of their activity and by the correction of each other's faults; for each models himself upon the pleasing features of the other's character, whence the saying,

From good men learn good life.

The saying is attributed to Theognis.

The expression "dead sea" of life is also from Seneca *Epist.* lxvii. 14:

Hoc loco mihi Demetrius noster occurrit, qui vitam securam et sine ullis fortunæ occursionibus "mare mortuum" vocat.

When at the beginning of the sixth stanza Jonson says, "Goe now," etc., he is making use, of course, of a Latinism of which he was rather fond, as it occurs several times in his various pieces. *I nunc* is constantly employed by the Latin poets in this ironical fashion.

Who, ere the first downe bloomed on the chin,  
Had sow'd these fruits, and got the harvest in.

An interesting parallel, though perhaps not a source, is found in Claudian *In Olyb. et Prob. cons.* 67 ff.:

primordia vestra  
Vix pauci meruere senes metasque tenetis,  
Ante genas dulces quam flos invenilis inumbret  
Oraque ridenti lanugine vestiat aetas.

*Und.* lxxxviii:

the Law  
Of daring, not to doe a wrong, is true  
Valour! to sleight it, being done to you!  
To know the heads of danger! where 'tis fit  
To bend, to breake, provoke, or suffer it!

*Sen. De ben.* ii. 34. 3:

Fortitudo est virtus pericula iusta contemnens aut scientia periculorum repellendorum, excipiendorum, provocandorum.

For Jonson's doctrine of true valor, see the article in *Modern Philology* already cited.

*Und.* xc: See below, under "Miscellaneous A."

*Und.* ci:

Had I a thousand Mouthes, as many Tongues,  
And voyce to raise them from my brazen Lungs.

Virgil *Georgics* ii. 42-43 (repeated in *Aeneid* vi. 625):

non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum,  
ferrea vox.

Compare *Iliad* ii. 489.

Her sweetnesse, Softnesse, her faire Courtesie,  
Her wary guardes, her wise simplicitie,



Were like a ring of Vertues. . . .  
 . . . . when they urg'd the Cure  
 Of her disease, how did her soule assure  
 Her sufferings, as the body had beene away!  
 And to the Torturers (her Doctors) say,  
 Stick on your Cupping-glasses, feare not, put  
 Your hottest Causticks to, burne, lance, or cut: . . . .  
 Then comforted her Lord! and blest her Sonne!  
 Chear'd her faire Sisters in her race to runne!  
 With gladnesse temper'd her sad Parents teares!  
 Made her friends joyes, to get above their feares!  
 And, in her last act, taught the Standers-by,  
 With admiration, and applause to die!

One cannot be certain that Jonson here had Pliny in mind, but on reading the latter's account of the death of the thirteen-year-old daughter of his friend Fundanus, one cannot refrain from noticing resemblances that have a real significance when one takes into consideration how intimately Jonson knew Pliny and how much he took from him. *Epist.* v. 16:

nondum annos quattuordecim impleverat, et iam illi anilis prudentia,  
 matronalis gravitas erat, et tamen suavitas puellaris cum virginali vere-  
 cundia. ut illa patris cervicibus inhaerebat! . . . qua illa temperantia,  
 qua patientia, qua etiam constantia novissimam valetudinem tulit! medicis  
 obsequabatur, sororem, patrem adhortabatur ipsamque se destitutam cor-  
 poris viribus vigore animi sustinebat. duravit hic illi usque ad extremum  
 nec aut spatio valedudinis aut metu mortis infractus est, quo plures gravior-  
 esque nobis causas relinqueret et desiderii et doloris.

Let Angels sing her glories, who did call  
 Her spirit home, to her originall!  
 Who saw the way was made it! and were sent 65  
 To carry, and conduct the Complement  
 'Twixt death and life! Where her mortalitie  
 Became her Birth-day to Eternitie!  
 And now, through circumfused light, she looks  
 On Natures secrets, there, as her owne bookes: 70  
 Speakes Heavens Language! and discovereth free  
 To every Order, ev'ry Hierarchie!  
 Beholds her Maker! and, in him, doth see  
 What the beginnings of all beauties be;  
 And all beatitudes, that thence doe flow: 75  
 Which they that have the Crowne are sure to know!

Goe now, her happy Parents, and be sad  
 If you not understand, what Child you had.  
 If you dare grudge at Heaven, and repent  
 T' have paid againe a blessing was but lent, 80  
 And trusted so, as it deposited lay  
 At pleasure, to be call'd for, every day!  
 If you can envie your owne Daughters blisse,  
 And wish her state lesse happie then it is!  
 If you can cast about your either eye, 85  
 And see all dead here, or about to dye!  
 The Starres, that are the Jewels of the Night,  
 And Day, deceasing! with the Prince of light,  
 The Sunne! great Kings! and mightiest Kingdomes fall!  
 Whole Nations! nay Mankind! the World, with all 90  
 That ever had beginning there, to 'ave end!  
 With what injustice should one soule pretend  
 T' escape this common knowne necessitie,  
 When we were all borne, we began to die;  
 And, but for that Contention, and brave strife 95  
 The Christian hath t' enjoy the future life,  
 Hee were the wretched'st of the race of men.

At first sight there is apparently little in this passage to suggest a classical source; yet it seems to be in the main an expression, so to speak, in Christianized language of ideas to be found in two consolatory addresses of Seneca. Compare the following extracts from the *Cons. ad Marciam* and the *Cons. ad Polybium*.

*Ad Marc.* xxv-vi:

Proinde non est quod ad sepulcrum filii tui curras: pessima eius et ipsi molestissima istic iacent, ossa cineresque, non magis illius partes quam vestes aliaque tegumenta corporum. Integer ille nihilque in terris relinquens sui fugit et totus excessit paulumque supra nos commoratus, dum expurgatur et inhaerentia vitia situmque omnem mortalis aevi excutit, deinde ad excelsa sublatus inter felices currit animas excepit illum coetus sacer, Scipiones Catonesque, interque contemptatores vitae et mortis beneficio liberos. Parens tuus, Marcia, illic nepotem suum, quamquam illic omnibus omne cognatum est, adplicat sibi nova luce gaudentem et vicinorum siderum meatus docet, nec ex coniectura sed omnium ex vero peritus in arcana naturae libens ducit. utque ignotarum urbium monstrator hospiti gratus est, ita sciscitanti coelestium causas domesticus interpret. iuvat enim ex alto relictia respicere et in profunda terrarum permittere aciem. . . . In aeterna rerum per libera et vasta spatia dimissos non illos interfusa maria discludunt nec altitudo montium aut inviae valles aut incertarum vada Syrtium: tramites

omnium plani et ex facili mobiles et expediti et invicem pervii sunt intermixtique sideribus. . . . In parte ultima mundi et inter paucissimos gesta: tot secula, tot aetatum contextum, seriem, quicquid annorum est, licet visere. licet surrectura, licet ruitura regna prospicere et magnarum urbium lapsus et maris novos cursus. Nam si tibi potest solatio esse desiderii tui commune fatum, nihil quo stat loco stabit, omnia sternet abducetque vetustas, nec hominibus solum, sed locis, sed regionibus, sed mundi partibus ludet.

With ll. 80–82, cf. *Ad. Pol.* x. 4–5:

Rerum natura illum tibi sicut ceteris fratribus suis non mancipio dedit, sed commodavit: cum visum est deinde, repetiit nec tuam in eo satietatem secuta est, sed suam legem. . . . Natura suo iure usa, a quo voluit, debitum suum citius exegit.

(See under Epigram xlv in the article in *Classical Philology*, u.s.) For line 89, cf. *ibid.* xi. 4: “tota cum regibus regna populique cum regentibus tulere fatum suum: omnes, immo omnia in ultimum diem spectant.” With line 92, cf. Seneca *Epist.* xxx. 11: “Mors necessitatem habet aequam et invictam: quis queri potest in ea condicione se esse, in qua nemo non est?” With 94, *Ad. Marc.* xxi. 6: “ex illo quo primum lucem vidit, iter mortis ingressus est accessitque fato propior et illi ipsi qui adiciebantur adulescentiae anni, vitae detrahebantur.” (Cf. also *Epist.* i. 2; xxiv. 20.) With 95 ff., cf. I Cor., 15:19: “If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.”

With 85 ff., cf. also Statius *Sylv.* ii. 209:

omnia functa  
aut moritura vides: obeunt noctesque diesque  
astraque nec solidis prodest sua machina terris.

Incidentally it might be remarked that a comparison of this elegy on Lady Winchester (together with the later one on Lady Digby) with the formula given by C. H. Moore from Vollmer (on “The Epicedia of Statius,” *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge*, 1913, p. 129) would show that Jonson, *mutatis mutandis*, not improbably had Statius as his model.

*Und.*, “Eupheme,” title: Absolute in all numbers (cf. absolute in their numbers, in the “Address to the Readers,” in the Shakespeare Folio). This interesting expression apparently comes directly from Pliny *Epist.* ix. 38: “legi enim librum omnibus numeris absolutum.”

Note that in the Folio of 1623 the expression is applied to Shakespeare's plays, i.e., as in Pliny, to a book, a fact which adds something to the argument supporting the Jonsonian authorship of this piece, since, as is shown in these pages and in the article just referred to, Jonson used Pliny's letters freely. In "Eupheme" Jonson applies the phrase to a man. It is worth noting that similar expressions are used of men by Valerius Maximus ii. 10. 8, "omnibus numeris perfecta virtus"; iv. 1. Ext. 2, "cunctosque uirtutis numeros"; and viii. 15. 2, "omnibus numeris uirtutis diuitem."

*Und.*, "Eupheme," Nos. 3 and 4: I suspect these to be indebted, as respects their general design, to Lucian's *Portrait-Study*. First, with the help of painters and statuaries he depicts the body of the wife of Abradatas; then, dismissing the artists, he depicts her mind. There are, however, no particular agreements in detail.

Thou entertaining in thy brest,  
But such a mind, mak'st God thy Guest.

Seneca *Epist.* xxxi. 11:

animus, sed hic rectus, bonus, magnus. quid aliud voces hunc quam deum in corpore humano hospitantem?

In *Disc.*, ed. Schelling, p. 40, the saying is attributed to Euripides, but Schelling was unable to identify it, as in the case of the quotation from Euripides formerly noticed. Castelain says nothing. It will be noticed that in the former instance the substance of the idea that Jonson attributed to Euripides is likewise to be found in Seneca, though not, as here, the exact language. See above, under *Und.* lxiii.

*Und.*, "Eupheme," No. 8 (?):

Boast not these Titles of your Ancestors;  
(Brave Youths) th' are their possessions, none of yours.

Ovid. *Met.* xiii. 140:

Nam genus et proavos et quae non fecimus ipsi,  
Vix ea nostra voco.

## II. MISCELLANEOUS

A. "A Panegyre on the Happie Entrance of Iames," etc.: This piece derives its inspiration chiefly from Pliny's *Panegyricus* on Trajan and from several pieces of Claudian, while a hint or two was

taken from Martial and Seneca. I find that Castelain (*Discoveries*, p. 154) has touched upon the use of Pliny by Jonson, but he seems to have caught only one parallel and not to have perceived that more than a single passage was involved. The other writers mentioned above he does not notice. I have included the parallel he gives in what follows.

Ll. 3 ff.:           Again, the glory of our Western world  
                          Unfolds himself: & from his eyes are hoorl'd  
                          (To day) a thousand radiant lights, etc.

Claudian *De IV cons. Honor.* 1 ff.:

Auspiciis iterum sese regalibus annus  
Induit et nota fruitur iactantior aula,  
Limina nec passi circum privata morari  
Exsultant reduces Augusto consule fasces.

In ll. 30 ff., 56 ff., Jonson describes the joy of the crowds through which James passed. Pliny xxii has many parallels.

Ac primum qui dies ille, quo expectatus desideratusque urbem tuam ingressus es! iam hoc ipsum, quod ingressus es, quam mirum laetumque! nam priores invehī et importari solebant, non dico quadriūgo curru et albetibus equis, sed umeris hominum, quod arrogantius erat. tu sola corporis proceritate elatior aliis et excelsior non de patētia nostra quendam triumphum, sed de superbia principum egisti. ergo non aetas quemquam, non valetudo, non sexus retardavit quo minus oculos insolito spectaculo impleret. te parvuli noscere, ostentare iuvenes, mirari senes, aegri quoque neglecto medentium imperio ad conspectum tui quasi ad salutem sanitatemque propere. inde alii se satis vixisse te viso, te recepto, alii nunc magis esse vivendum praedicabant. feminas etiam tunc fecunditatis suae maxima voluptas subiit, cum cernerent cui principi cives, cui imperatori milites peperissent. videres referta tecta ac laborantia ac ne eum quidem vacantem locum, qui non nisi suspensum et instabile vestigium caperet, oppletas undique vias angustumque tramitem relictum tibi, alacrem hinc atque inde populum, ubique par gaudium paremque clamorem. tam aequalis ab omnibus ex adventu tuo laetitia percepta est, quam omnibus venisti; quae tamen ipsa cum ingressu tuo crevit ac prope in singulos gradus adaucta est.

Old men were glad, their fates till now did last.

Martial x. 6:

Felices, quibus urna dedit spectare coruscum . . .  
                          ducem.

This was the peoples love, with which did strive  
The Nobles zeale.

Claudian *De cons. Stil.* iii. 49-50:

laetatur eques plauditque senator  
Votaque patricio certant plebeia favori.

the reverend Themis drawes aside  
The Kings obeying will, from taking pride  
In these vaine stirres, and to his mind suggests  
How he may triumph in his subiects breasts  
With better pompe.

*Ibid.* 28-29:

Strepitus fastidit inanes  
Inque animis hominum pompa meliore triumphat.

She tells him first, that Kings  
Are here on earth the most conspicuous things:  
That they, by Heauen, are plac'd upon his throne,  
To rule like Heauen. . . .

. . . . That all they doe  
Though hid at home, abroad is search'd into:  
And, being once found out, discover'd lies  
Unto as many enuies, there, as eyes.  
That princes, since they know it is their fate,  
Oft-times, to haue the secrets of their state  
Betraid to fame, should take more care, and feare  
In publique acts what face and forme they beare.

Claudian *De IV cons. Honor.* 269-75:

Hoc te praeterea crebro sermone monebo  
Ut te totius medio telluris in ore  
Vivere cognoscas, cunctis tua gentibus esse  
Facta palam, nec posse dari regalibus umquam  
Secretum vitiis; nam lux altissima fati  
Occultum nihil esse sinit latebrasque per omnes  
Intrat et abstrusos explorat fama recessus.

and haue no more, their owne,  
As they are men, then men.

Pliny 2:

quod unum exnobis putat nec minus hominem se quam hominibus  
praeesse meminit.

Claudian *ibid.* 303-4:

His tamen effectis neu fastidire minores,  
Neu pete praescriptos homini transcendere fines.

In ll. 90 ff. Themis calls to the king's mind the good and evil deeds of his predecessors. Claudian does the same, ll. 311 ff., 401 ff. It is worth observing that Claudian puts the good advice that he gives to Honorius into his own mouth, whereas Jonson makes Themis the speaker; and further that the praise which Gifford bestows on Jonson for his frankness and outspokenness should be likewise bestowed on the Latin poet by whose example Jonson was inspired.

And that no wretch was more vnblest then he,  
Whose necessary good t'was now to be  
An euill king; And so must such be still,  
Who once haue got the habit to doe ill.  
One wickednesse another must defend;  
For vice is safe, while she hath vice to friend.

Seneca *De Clem.* i. 13. 2:

eo perductus, ut non liceat illi mutare mores. hoc enim inter cetera vel pessimum habet crudelitas: perseverandum est nec ad meliora patet regressus. Scelera enim sceleribus tuenda sunt: quid autem eo infelicius, cui iam esse malo necesse est?

And cf. Claudian *ibid.* 278-80, 290-94.

For ll. 121-27, beginning, "He knew, that those, who would, with loue, command," see the quotation from Pliny given under Epigram xxxv in the article in *Classical Philology* previously mentioned, and compare Claudian *ibid.* 297 ff.:

Tunc observantior aequi  
Fit populus nec ferre negat, cum viderit ipsum  
Auctorem parere sibi: componitur orbis  
Regis ad exemplum, nec sic inflectere sensus  
Humanos edicta valent, quam vita regentis.  
Mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus.

She told them, what a fate  
was gently false from Heaven upon this state.

Pliny 8: Trajan was chosen by the gods to rule over Rome.

How deare a father they did now enjoy  
That came to saue, what discord would destroy.

Pliny 5 and 6: Trajan, by his accession to the throne, quelled tumults and saved the state.

The temp'rance of a priuate man did bring.

Pliny everywhere celebrates the moderation and temperance of Trajan, and the way in which, though prince, he comported himself as a private man. See, for instance, 23: "inde tu in palatium quidem, sed eo vultu, ea moderatione, ut si privatam domum peteres."

And was not hot, or couetous to be crown'd  
Before mens hearts had crown'd him.

Pliny 9 and 10: Trajan was not in a hurry to be emperor, and he was the choice of the people before he was chosen by Nerva.

Who (vnlike  
Those greater bodies of the sky, that strike  
The lesser fiers dim) in his accesse  
Brighter then all, hath yet made no one lesse;  
Though many greater: and the most, the best.  
Wherein, his choice was happie with the rest  
Of his great actions, first to see, and do  
What all mens wishes did aspire vnto.

Pliny 19:

est haec natura sideribus, ut parva et exilia validiorum exortus obscureret: similiter imperatoris adventu legatorum dignitas inumbratur. tu tamen maior omnibus quidem eras, sed sine ullius deminutione maior: eandem auctoritatem praesente te quisque retinebat; quin etiam plerisque ex eo reverentia accesserat, quod tu quoque illos reverebare . . . felices illos, quorum fides et industria non per internuntios et interpretes, sed ab ipso te, nec auribus tuis, sed oculis probabantur!

And Claudian *De cons. Stil.* i. 89-90:

Felix arbitrii princeps, qui congrua mundo  
Iudicat, et primus censet quod cernimus omnes.

Neuer had land more reason to reioyce.  
Nor to her blisse, could ought now added bee,  
Saue, that shee might the same perpetuall see.  
Which, when time, nature, and the fates deny'd. . . .

Pliny 94:

In fine orationis praesides custodesque imperii deos ego consul pro rebus humanis ac te praecipue, Capitoline Iuppiter, precor ut beneficiis tuis faveas tantisque muneribus addas perpetuitatem . . . aut si hoc fato negatur. . . .

Yet, let blest Brittaine aske (without your wrong)  
Still to haue such a king, and this king long [cf. *Und.* xc].



Martial xii. 6. 5-6:

Hoc populi gentesque tuae, pia Roma, precantur:  
Dux tibi sit semper talis, et iste diu.

The Latin line that Jonson places at the end, "Solus rex," etc., is from the proverbial

Consulesque fiunt quotannis & novi Proconsules:  
Solus aut Rex aut Poeta non quotannis nascitur.

These lines are first given in Binetus' 1579 edition of Petronius, p. 20, under the heading: *Floridi de Qualitate Vitae*. He explains the term "floridi," p. 17: "qui loci sunt insignes ex variis auctoribus descripti, qui & aurei dicebantur, sicut floridorum quatuor libri ex Apuleij scriptis excerpti extant hodie." But in Burmann's *Anthology*, ed. 1835, and in Buecheler and Riese the lines, together with others given by Binet under this heading, are attributed to a certain Florus. For Jonson's fondness for this particular bit, see note on Epigram lxxix in *Classical Philology*, u.s.

B. "Lines to Somerset," Gifford, ed. Cunningham, ix, 338:

So, be your Concord, still, as deepe, as mute;  
And eve'ry joy, in mariage, turne a fruite.  
So, may those Mariage-Pledges, comforts prove:  
And ev'ery birth encrease the heate of Love . . . .  
And when your yeares rise more, then would be told,  
Yet neyther of you seeme to th' other old.

Martial iv. 13:

Candida perpetuo reside, Concordia, lecto,  
Tamque pari semper sit Venus aequa iugo.  
Diligat illa senem quondam, sed et ipsa marito  
Tum quoque cum fuerit, non videatur anus.

And Ausonius *Ad uxorem*, Teubner ed. of Ausonius, p. 327:

Vxor, uiuamus, quod uiximus, et teneamus  
Nomina, quae primo sumpsimus in thalamo:  
Nec ferat ulla dies, ut commutemur in aeuo;  
Quin tibi sim iuuenis tuque puella mihi.  
Nestore sim quamuis prouectior aemulaque annis  
Vincas Cumanam tu quoque Deiphoben;  
Nos ignoremus, quid sit matura senectus.  
Scire aeui meritum, non numerare decet.

C. "Epigram upon Inigo Jones," Gifford, ed. Cunningham, viii, 113: Gifford in his note remarks, "This is undoubtedly Jonson's," as if the authorship of the piece had been questioned. Were there any uncertainty, it would be removed by observing that the piece is a close adaptation of Martial, xii. 61. I give Jonson's poem from my transcript of Harl. 4955, 176 verso (there is another copy in Harl. 6057, 19, which differs slightly).

## TO A FREIND AN EPIGRAM OF HIM.

Sr; Inigo doth feare it, as I heare,  
 (And labours to seeme worthy of that feare)  
 That I should write upon him some sharpe verse,  
 Able to eate into his bones, and peirce  
 The marrow! wretch! I quit thee of thy paine.  
 Thou 'art too ambitious, and dost feare in vaine!  
 The lybian lion hunts no butter-flies!  
 Hee makes the Camell, & dull asse his prise!  
 If thou be so desirous, to be read;  
 Seeke out some hungrie painter, that for bread,  
 With rotten chalke, or cole, upon a Wall  
 Will well designe thee; to be veiw'd of all  
 That sitt upon the common draught; or Strand;  
 Thy forehead is too narrow, for my brand.

Versus et breve vividumque carmen  
 In te ne faciam, times, Ligurra,  
 Et dignus cupis hoc metu videri.  
 Sed frustra metuis cupisque frustra.  
 In tauros Libyci ruunt leones,  
 Non sunt papilionibus molesti.  
 Quaeras, censeo, si legi laboras,  
 Nigri fornicis ebrium poetam,  
 Qui carbone rudi putrique creta  
 Scribit carmina, quae legunt cacantes.  
 Frons haec stigmatē non meo notanda est.

And cf. Claudian *De cons. Stil.* ii. 20-22.

D. In the *Athenaeum* for June 13, 1914, I printed a poem from Harl. 4064, which I thought to be Jonson's. I am the more convinced of the truth of the attribution as I find that almost the whole of the poem was inspired by the seventh satire of Juvenal and that some lines are directly borrowed.

The main thought is the same. It is not now as it was with poets in the old days when great men patronized them gladly. Then it was worth while to write verse. Cf. Juvenal 90-97:

quod non dant procures, dabit histrio. tu Camerinos  
et baream, tu nobilium magna atria curas?  
praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos.  
haut tamen invidias vati quem pulpita pascunt.  
quis tibi Maecenas, quis nunc erit aut Procleius  
aut Fabius? quis Cotta iterum, quis Lentulus alter?  
tunc par ingenio pretium, tunc utile multis  
pallere et vinum toto nescire decembri.

Stanza 3 of the poem runs:

Breake then thy quills, blot out  
thie long watch'd verse  
And rather to the ffyer, then to the rout  
theire labor'd tunes reherse  
whose ayre will sooner Hell, then their dull sences peirce  
Thou that dost spend thie dayes  
to get thee a leane face  
and come forth worthy Ivy or the bayes  
and in this age, canst hope no other grace.

Juvenal 24 ff.:

lignorum aliquid posce ocus et quae  
componis, dona Veneris, Telesine, marito,  
aut clude et positos tineae pertunde libellos.  
frange miser calamum vigilataque proelia dele,  
qui facis in parva sublimia carmina cella,  
ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macra.  
spes nulla ulterior.

Cf. the *frange leves calamos* of Martial ix. 73.

E. When in *Conversations*, sec. iv, Jonson adjudged Du Bartas to be no poet because he wrote no fiction, he probably had in mind such a principle as that in Plutarch, *How a Young Man Ought to Hear Poems*, trans. 1870, ii. 46:

Wherefore Socrates, being induced by some dreams to attempt something in poetry, and finding himself unapt, by reason that he had all his lifetime been the champion of severe truth, to hammer out of his own invention a likely fiction, made choice of Aesop's fables to turn into verse; as judging nothing to be true poetry that had in it nothing of falsehood. For though we have known some sacrifices performed without pipes and dances, yet we

own no poetry which is utterly destitute of fable and fiction. Whence the verses of Empedocles and Parmenides, the *Theriaca* of Nicander, and the sentences of Theognis, are rather to be accounted speeches than poems, which, that they might not walk contemptibly on foot, have borrowed from poetry the chariot of verse, to convey them the more creditably through the world.

If we are to classify poems on this principle, there is no question of what would happen to Du Bartas.

F. "Masque of Queens," dedicated to Prince Henry (text from Gifford):

For which singular bounty, if my *fate* . . . shall reserve me to the age of your actions, whether in the camp or the council-chamber, that I may write, at nights, the deeds of your days; I will then labour to bring forth some work as worthy of your fame, as my ambition therein is of your pardon.

Cf. Propertius ii. 10. 5-6, 19-20:

quod si deficiant vires, audacia certe  
laus erit: in magnis et voluisse sat est. . . .  
haec ego castra sequar. vates tua castra canendo  
magnus ero. servent hunc mihi fata diem!

G. "Ode on New Inn," last stanza:

But, when they heare thee sing  
The glories of thy King,  
His zeale to God, and his just awe o're men;  
They may, blood-shaken, then,  
Feele such a flesh-quake to possess their powers:  
As they shall cry, like ours  
In sound of peace, or warres,  
No Harpe ere hit the starres;  
In tuning forth the acts of his sweet raigne:  
And raysing Charles his Chariot, 'bove his Waine.

See various lines in the early part of the third Georgic:

temptanda via est, qua me quoque passim  
tollere humo victorque virum volitare per ora . . . .  
Invidia infelix furias amnemque severum  
Cocyti metuet . . . .  
mox tamen ardentis accingar dicere pugnas  
Caesaris. . . .

H. "Part of the King's Entertainment": Martial viii. 15, speaks of the people, the knights, and the senators, as longing for and

welcoming the return of the prince, and congratulates the prince that he can trust in the sincerity of his people's love, ending with the line:

Principis est virtus maxima, nosse suos.

Jonson makes use of all these ideas, and translates the quoted line as follows:

In a prince it is  
No little virtue, to know who are his.

I. *Epig.* xiv:

Camden, most reuerend head, to whom I owe  
All that I am in arts, all that I know.  
(How nothing's that?)

Cic. *Pro Archia.* 1:

Si quid est in me ingenii, iudices, quod sentio quam sit exiguum . . . .  
aut si huiusce rei ratio aliqua, ab optimarum artium studiis ac disciplina  
profecta . . . . earum rerum omnium vel in primis hic A. Licinius fructum  
a me repetere suo jure debet. Nam . . . . hunc video mihi principem, et  
ad suscipiendam et ad ingrediendam rationem horum studiorum, exstitisse.

J. *Epig.* cx: Caesar "wrote, with the same spirit that he fought."  
See Quintilian *Inst.* x. l. 114:

Tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem anime  
dixisse, quo bellavit, appareat.

K. Mallory, p. 141 of his edition of *Poetaster*, is of the opinion that Jonson may have been indebted to the play of *Mucedorus* for the suggestion of the figure of Envy. Whoever compares these two descriptions, however, and then turns to Ovid *Met.* ii. 760-82, will see at once that Jonson derived his figure of Envy from Ovid's Invidia. There is no resemblance between the *Poetaster* and the *Mucedorus* passages. Cowley, in the passage spoken of by Mallory, also had Ovid in mind.

L. *Epig.* Dedication:

But, if I be falne into those times, wherein, for the likenesse of vice,  
and facts, euery one thinks anothers ill deeds obiected to him.

Tacitus *Ann.* iv. 33:

utque familiae ipsae iam extinctae sunt, reperies qui ob similitudinem  
morum aliena malefacta sibi obiectari putent.

WILLIAM DINSMORE BRIGGS

STANFORD UNIVERSITY